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ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

G490

G. 428

BANISHING WAR

BY

J. C. KUMARAPPA

MAGANVADI

WARDHA, C. P.

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PREFACE.

The common man everywhere is sick unto death of war and war mongering but he does not clearly see how to do away with this belligerency among nations. People are becoming conscious of the urgency of finding a solution to this fast spreading epidemic of violence. This pamphlet is put out with the hope that it would be suggestive of one way out of the morass.

Maganvadi,
Wardha. C. P.
1st October, 1948

J. C Kumarappa

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I

SWORDS OR PLOUGHSHARES ?

(Being the summary of a speech delivered before the Golden Jubilee Convention of the Christian Endeavour Union of India, Burma and Ceylon, held at Indore on 8th October 1938.)

The subject chosen for today is one of paramount importance. The world is in a turmoil. On all sides we hear of wars and rumours of wars. Nations are rising against nations, and kingdoms against kingdoms. There are famines and pestilences in diverse places. These are symptoms of the economic crisis in the world. What is the place in such a world for Jesus, the embodiment of Love and Truth, and the Prince of Peace ? As possible leaders of the next generation this question challenges your attention and demands your serious and prayerful consideration. Let us, therefore, pause for a moment and analyse the various facters involved in this problem and see if there is any incompatibility between the present methods of production and the principles that Jesus stood for which will account for all this turbulence.

Since the days when Adam was told " In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread" there has been a definite effort to eat bread but to avoid sweating. Work has been looked upon as a curse and, in as much as it canno be

avoided as long as bread is needed, all manner of devices have been resorted to pass on the unpleasant part to some one else.

ANALYSIS OF WORK

When we analyse work we do not find it a curse in itself. It has two important components (1) the germ of growth, *i. e.* an element which makes for the development and happiness of the individual, and (2) drudgery. Just as any seed may have the pericarp and the starch, and even as any balanced diet needs both the concentrates and the roughage to make it wholesome, work needs both its component parts to enable one to benefit by it. As the saying goes, genius is one per cent inspiration and ninety nine per cent perspiration. Without the perspiration or drudgery the inspiration cannot become effective. One has to have both to benefit by it. The drudgery part of work is essential to enable one to grow through work. A musician has to practise hundreds of hours on his instrument before he can venture to perform on the stage. A scientist has to labour for years in a laboratory and cultivate a sense of smell which will appreciate sulphurated hydrogen; only then will he be able to probe into the secrets of nature. These are inevitable. Therefore, there can be growth only when the pleasurable part of work is combined with the drudgery. One who avoids drudgery will not gain by the pleasurable part only. Though one may enjoy it for a time, one's talents will begin to deteriorate after a while. In addition to this growth-yielding characteristic, when properly used, work functions as an outlet to the personality of the individual; it gives expression to that which is highest in man while at the same time developing his faculties. Whatever ideals, principles, or religion a man may adhere to are reflected

in his everyday work. Thus there is action and reaction between the individual and his work. The reaction on the individual is perhaps much more important than the work done because it goes to develop human personality and thereby contributes to human progress.

Naturally, the drudgery part of work being unpleasant, human nature being what it is, there is always an attempt to avoid it or shift it on to someone else. The first temptation before even Jesus, was to command stones to be made into bread without sweating for it. But as no one is willing to take on the drudgery part of work for what it is, it becomes necessary for those who want only the pleasurable part to use coercion, to shift the drudgery on to others. If we set out merely to enjoy life we shall have to force someone else to take up the drudgery part of work at the threat of the taskmaster's whip. Western nations have made no attempt to overcome this divorce of the pleasurable germ from the drudgery part of work. On the other hand, they have definitely set out to glorify the pleasures of life, which in itself meant enslavement of others. It was on such a philosophy of work that the ancient empires of Greece and Rome worked, shifting the unpleasant part of activity, by which pleasure's can be had, on to captives made into slaves. Similarly during the Feudal days the lords got drunk and the serfs laboured. It was a sign of distinction to enjoy without working. Again under the financial regime the capitalist and the excutives enjoyed, at the cost of the factory drudge. When we come to the political age we see empires enjoying at the cost of their colonies and subject countries. The whole of this system is based on violence. Without violence no nation can shift its drudgery to other nations and convert them into "hewers of wood and drawers

of water." Even Jesus was tempted to obtain the glories of the world, by what seemed a simple formula, but quickly turned away from the idea. Thus violence is the centre of the present organization or the foundation stone of the economic structure today.

But it does not stop there. The ones who enjoy the pleasures through such dissection of work are not the masses. These common people will not take to violence naturally unless their understanding is warped and their sensitiveness blunted by deliberate false propaganda. To achieve this it becomes necessary to glorify violence. This is done by giving a social status to those who are employed in applying violence on a "scientific" and mass scale, and giving such violence religious recognition. A general, an admiral or any officer in the forces is given a social standing to obtain the respect of the common people. Memorials to such men when dead are placed in places of worship to associate them with the saints and they are made national heroes by the erecting of public statues and tombs.

VIOLENCE GLORIFIED

To such an enthronement of violence what will be the reaction of Jesus who taught us that anger was equivalent to murder and to say "Thou fool" was to come in danger of hell fire? He would regard army men as scientific murderers and generals and admirals as arch-murderers. If He went into St. Pauls Cathedral or Westminster Abbey, and saw the monuments there to these arch-murderers, He would overturn them like He did the money changers' tables in the Temple, saying "Ye have made the house of prayer into a den of arch-murderers." And when we see the tattered banners of many a battle decorating those sacred

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walls, do we not hear the reverberations of the echo of the two thousand year old cry, "Away with this man, release unto us Barabbas". Now Barabbas was a murderer and a robber. A social structure which sanctifies violence has crucified Jesus already. It is such "cultures" we find in Europe, in battle array, growling at each other at the present moment. What does this appeal to might mean? Is this to make the world safe for democracy ? Or is it a war to end war? We cannot cast out devils through the Prince of devils. All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. What is all this degradation of the soul of man for?

IN PRACTICE

All this is to shift the drudgery and unpleasant part of work on to some one else. To do so we have to produce under controlled conditions on a large scale. Though the Lancashire mill is located in England, its ramifications extend the world over. To work it, therefore, we need world-wide control of the cotton growing soils, farmers, the research institutes, the railway rates, ports, steamships, ocean routes and bases like Singapore, Aden and Gibralter and markets too have to be controlled. Without such world-wide domination the Lancashire mill cannot be worked for one day. Such complete and wide-spread political control necessitates the Army, Navy and the Air force. Hence it is that without violence England cannot maintain itself on the present level any more than a tiger can feed itself without its claws or fangs. This is the position with all countries based on centralized methods of production. They have to deprive other people of freedom so that the latter may be converted into slaves to produce the raw materials they need and consume the goods they manufacture. Thus it is that we find the nations of Europe and Japan parting

the garments and casting lots on India, China, Abyssinnia and Czechoslovakia today. This economic condition is the cause of the violence with which the atmosphere is now surcharged and has been for over a generation. Science has been harnessed to the forces of destruction and "except these days be shortened there should no flesh be saved." The philosophy behind our present economic structure is "what matters if the soul is lost as long as the whole world is gained." The vested interests of today care more for their swine than for the life of the man out of whom the devils were cast out. They beseech Jesus to depart from their coasts. As long as Jesus is out of the equation there can be nothing but conflict. There has never been peace in Europe. It is always a case of dynamic war or static war as there is no basis for peace in suspicion and hatred. Peace can only come from love and goodwill.

THE ALTERNATIVE

While the centralized method of production needs violence as an essential factor production by decentralized units can be carried on without resorting to violence. Of course by this method we cannot produce highly standardized goods; hence the quantity produced will be less than what can be obtained under centralized units, but at the same time the quality and the individuality or variety can be much greater under the cottage unit. This latter method also makes it possible for the two elements of work *viz.* development and drudgery, to be functioning in a normal way thus making for human progress. Because of the capacity of the present method to produce standardized goods in large quantities, the producers have been carrying on a propaganda to increase their sales by making people buy their goods. To do this a tradition has been introduced making the

multiplicity of wants a sign of civilization and culture. Is possession of great wealth the equivalent of hapiness and welfare either in this world or in the world to come? Do not the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke that which is noblest in us ? What then is the remedy ?

The remedy lies in our getting away from the idea that a man's life consisteth in the abundance of the things which he possesseth and being ready if our right hand offends us to cut it off and cast if from us. May we have the courage to face this situation and not turn away sorrowful because of our great possessions? Is not life more than meat ? Is there not a human value which is higher than any material standards? If we decide to follow this higher value we shall have to take up the cross of many material inconveniences and follow Jesus in His path of truth, love and peace. If we follow Jesus' ideals we shall neither hunger nor thirst after material possessions.

TRUE VALUES

Jesus evaluated things according to the use they were to individual human beings. To him the widow's two mites were more than all the rest, for, she of her penury had cast in all the living that she had. If we love our neighbours as ourselves we shall be able to realize and appreciate the true value of all that we possess. If we long for articles that are made by depriving nations of their freedom, by resorting to violence, by devouring widows' houses, by taking the taxes from the poor to serve the needs of the rich, we shall be ignoring Jesus' standards, and gaining materially at the cost of the suffering of others. As Solomon says:

"Better is little with the fear of the Lord
than great treasure and trouble therewith",

"Better is little with righteousness
than great revenues without right."

Shall we save our life or lose it? If we are convinced that the present atmosphere of war is caused by the desire to control raw materials and markets, we shall be parties to violence and bloodshed if we subscribe to it by buying or selling goods made under such methods. So if we wish to usher in peace and goodwill among nations we shall have to remember that the Master we profess to follow had not where to lay his head. The servant cannot be greater than the master. What shall be our choice? The broad path or the narrow way? Hitler or Gandhiji? Barabbas or Jesus? The sword or the ploughshare?

II

A NON-VIOLENT WAY OF LIFE

(The following is a summary of a speech delivered by Sri J. C. Kumarappa at a Conference of the "War Resisters' International" on the 8th August, 1948, at Albrighton Hall, Shrewsbury, England. At this conference 86 countries were represented by 135 delegates.)

Friends, it is a responsibility to come before a meeting of this type and to speak to you on the work that has been going on in India during Gandhiji's regime. Gandhiji himself was only a part of the Indian culture. Therefore when I am talking to you you will remember that these thoughts have not been recent thoughts on war resisting. No doubt it is a new thing to Europe: two global wars have brought war resisting to the forefront, but in India perhaps for the last 2,000 years, society has been moulded on non-violence. I am here to interpret that to you and to show how Gandhiji has tied up together the various loose strands in Indian culture to suit modern requirements.

I shall divide my talk into three parts: the first part will concern itself with a philosophical approach, or if you like an academic approach, in the second part I shall deal with the practical turn which we in India are trying to give it, and in the third part I will humbly place before you certain suggestions for not only India but for the whole world.

Now I want first of all to give you our approach to the human factor. Non-violence really is a thing we have got to look upon, not as a negative force, but as a very active element in Indian culture that has functioned since the days of Buddha. What we want to do is to introduce into society such non-violent factor to combat war. How is it to be done? Even Buddha was only representing the philosophy that was current for thousands of years before him. It is nothing new except to those of us who are new to it. We can not banish war while we are perpetuating war within ourselves. Wars are not organized by any external factors. Wars come from the violence that is within us. The tremendous amount of hatred and injustice within us accumulated in a national form leads to war. Therefore banishing war cannot really be brought into real effect without the self-control of each individual. It has to start with you and me. Hence, if we want to stop wars we must stop them within ourselves in our everyday life, and that is the starting point.

People say that self-sufficiency would mean a lower standard of life. The Americans might well say that by exporting articles to suffering people in Europe there will be less to share at home and so their standard of living will be lowered. Naturally. If you must share your fellow-men's suffering, you must be prepared to part with things. It may be lowering your material standard of life but it is increasing your spiritual standard by serving your fellow-man and sublimating your personality.

The present Western system of organization has emphasised the products of work. By work also, we hold man develops, the material manifestation of work being

but a bye-product. Man works on a material thing which grows into a finished product and at the same time, in the process of making the finished product, man grows spiritually. Therefore work is a medium of personal development. The Wardha Basic system of education is based on this philosophy. The product of work is useless when compared to the re-action of work on man. Work is not merely for producing things, it is the means of educating man. It means developing self-discipline and self-control. When the material manifestation is over-emphasised, work is missing the function of culture-creation altogether. The West has been doing this forgetting the man behind the articles. The result has been that man is not considered an entity by himself. He is not a person but an animal, or worse still a cog in the machine of production.

Animals live and die on the earth. They are of the earth earthy. Man rises higher than this only when he begins to see that he is a social animal. Even the bee works for the whole colony. At this stage there should be a spiritual sublimation of our individual instincts-the sublimation of fatherhood, motherhood, brotherhood. To feel that our standard of living will come down when we relieve the sufferings of others, is to bring ourselves down to the animal level.

In his death Gandhiji was numbered amongst the greatest of Princes. His body was burnt with sandalwood. Not even the greatest of the Moguls were treated like that. When he was living he was not clothed in beautiful silks. Why not? He sublimated his personality into those of the poor people. To do this we have to control the animal within us.

Even the animal is capable of being classified into various groups according to the purpose of its work. Taking

us at the animal level we work to satisfy our hunger. Animals go about to satisfy their main primary need by, say, five different approaches. The first one is the simplest. The tiger goes and takes other creatures that live in the jungle. This is the parasitic state. Then there comes the predatory stage–the monkey takes the apple from the tree, It does not consider if it has done any work for it. Here, the violence of the tiger is lessened. But in both there is consumption withont contribution. Thirdly, the bird that builds a nest, in economic terms, is both a producer and a consumer, and here is a further decrease of violence. This might be called the "enterprising stage". The fourth stage is noticed in the life of the honey bees. They don't produce for their own benefit, they produce for the benefit of the whole group. Then we come to the final stage, the service stage, as when the mother bird picks up food and takes it to the baby birds in the nest and gives without expecting any return.

We all function in these five stages at different times. The moment we begin to develop the people towards the service stage, we are reducing the need for and chances of war. The nearer we get to the service stage the less and less violence we shall find in society.

These five stages can be seen in the caste system of India.

As you begin to balance rights and duties civilization comes in. With the tiger and the monkey there are only rights and no duties, but as man grows higher and higher duty begins to enlarge. Unfortunately labour unions, etc are all right centred and therefore their efforts lead to general conflict. We have got to come to the duty centred economy.

Our ideal must be to reach that stage where there would be no wars at all. To this end we must educate the people into the service stage.

War has to be abolished by taking away the motives for war. So long as there are tigers in society there will be wars. We may be intensifying wars if we don't approach them from the right end, and the right end is your life and mine. It is in our everyday life, in our private life, that our mission has to begin.

People in the city who buy milk are stealing it out of the mouths of the children if the milk is not out of a surplus. When you get raw material from other countries, how many of you know that they are not being stolen from hungry mouths ? When you get food from other countries, how do you know that there are not dead bodies behind it? Unless there is a surplus one has no right to buy from others. Every country has to be self-sufficient in food, clothing and other primary needs. Unless you are self-sufficient you cannot maintain your independence. I am not against international trade, but the natural foods and things of that kind which you need must be grown or produced in our home-land, otherwise it is not possible to remain non-violent.

When a new mill is brought into existence the raw materials for it are got from the land which is growing food to-day. This is a further pressure on the food-growing land. Tobacco is being grown in rice lands. The Government had opened a seed depot for the Imperial Tobacco Co. of London. Under such conditions when Indian trade has to import food we are coming down to the tiger stage and this will lead to violence. When India gets her claws and fangs you will all have to sit up and take notice. It

will be a menace to world peace. There are four hundred millions to make gun fodder !

At a certain village an old woman told me, "When I was a little girl all this land was for rice growing. But we were given good prices for the land and so we sold it. Now this land grows coconut trees and we are too poor to buy the co-conuts." All these lands had belonged to the villagers who sold them for good prices and now coconut trees were grown. Now they had neither rice nor coconuts The coconuts go to the mills where they are converted into coconut oil which is used in the manufacture of soap and similar articles. The land has been converted into a soap-makers land and the people's food comes from Brazil ! To make certain that they get it they will need atom bombs. We cannot have foreign food and at the same time avoid wars. Every country must produce its own food or ultimately you must hold in bondage those who produce it for you to see that they do send it to you. International trade can be there, but not on the food line or the clothing line or prime necessities line, but only in surpluses and luxuries.

There is a definite difference between the wars of the ancient time and the wars of the present day. In fact they are two different things and it is wrong to call them both "wars." We must differentiate them by some other term.

In olden times wars arose out of animal instinct for greed. In the 20th century war is a very different thing, it is not just brigandage. Churchill or Roosevelt or Hitler were not brigands. They were the victims of what is called democracy. The violence that is within the people expressed itself through them. By an educational process people are brought to sing in unison hymns of hatred, hymns of

denunciation against other nations. War propaganda is a poisonous injection into the body politic. The war ring of nation against nation is altogether a new thing. By a process of education we can bring the nations together. We should take up that constructive part of the work of educating the public and of bringing them to a service economy. We have got to isolate the cause and deal with it. You cannot have peace without attacking the cause of wars.

We have seen that the cause of wars is greed of man for material things irrespective of consequences. That is why centralized methods of production have been introduced, which ultimately lead to the control of other peoples lives. Modern industrial magnates control the lives of so many thousands of people and then we call ourselves democracies! If you are working up to a democracy in politics you must have a democracy in economics. There is no meaning at all in the terms Communist, Fascists, etc. The distinction should be between centralization and decentralization. The test of a country being democratic or not is when it is in trouble. In the times of stress and strain, what were the nations of Europe? Dictatorships. You must ultimately decentralize control if you are to abolish war. Then a man's conscience will be the sole dictator as to whether a thing is right or wrong. Ideally this is something we may never attain, but we must move towards the ideal. We must have certain centralized productions-communications and the like-but these key industries must be sterilised of the profit motive, they should be like public utilities owned or controlled by the State.

In a village in South India I found the owner of six looms worked by power twiddling his thumbs. I asked him why

the mill was not working. He could not get enough raw material. He was also selling cloth 400 miles away and there was a bottleneck in the transport. He wanted to know how to ensure his supply of raw material and his market. I advised him to go to Madras where he would find a whole lot of brigands. He should get 200 of these men and let each be armed with a dagger and take them to the yarn mills. The moment the people at the mills saw the daggers they would run away leaving all the yarn he wanted. Then he could go to Delhi and those who deal with ransport also would not like the look of a rifle or a dagger. They would give him anything he wanted. Such is the basis of all Imperialism. When you need to control your raw materials and control your markets, you cannot do that without bombs. It is no good denouncing the bombs. You cannot have your cake and eat it too. We must begin with ourselves. Indeed Gandhiji gave us a programme of all kinds of cottage industries starting from this end as he realised the need for decentralization in the production of consumption goods. This leads us to regional self-sufficiency ultimately.

Gandhiji was not interested in the economic side of things for its own sake. He was interested in only one thing, that is truth; and all things that lead to untruth, all things that lead to violence he wanted to remove from society. Hence this programme of work.

We must not meet once in a year, or once in so many convenient years and disperse after receiving reports, but we must get together and organise and get a definite move on what we are going to do. Even Gandhiji's last message was that we should harness our energies to

ilfe. The quest for raw materials and fuel and need of control of markets are the hot beds where international wars are bred. We need to adapt our modes of living to fit into our capacity to satisfy our needs. If there is a discrepancy between these two we come into conflct with our neighbours. The immensity of the form of conflict does not matter. We have to avoid occasions that give rise to competition, greed and jealousy. Are we prepared to recast our lives on these lines? Non- violent way of life will count nothing too dear a price to pay for good will and peace among men.

Our own analysis leads us to believe that self-sufficiency in primary needs is a *sine qua non* to the establishment of peace. No amount of ardent desire will help us unless we are prepared to remodel our national economic activity on these lines. Merely tampering with the symptoms will be of no avail as the provocative causes are left untouched.

Europe is sick unto death of war but it has no time to think of ways of avoiding it. Its leaders are rushing the nations headlong into so called "Recovery Programmes" which are heading them direct to the precipice. But for the voice of Gandhiji India seems inclined to follow suit. Shall we wake up in time to be saved or shall we too be consumed in the approaching conflagration?

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judges of their own cases! These were the drawbacks of the League of Nations.

When two persons are intent on fighting, disarmament does not prevent the conflict. You ban the atom bomb, the "Big Berthas" will be there; you remove the "Big Berthas" the rifles will be there, failing these you have the bow and the arrow, the dagger or the stick. Did disarmament of Germany after World War I prevent World War II?

Neither can we place our faith on man made law. It is as efficacious as its sanctions, which need to be effectively implemented to be of any practical use. World Government will carry us no further.

The fever may be abated by restraining the patient according to the physicians orders and confining him to bed or by applying ice bags to his head. The main thing is to diagnose the disease and treat the cause of the fever and take precaution to order the life of the patient in such a way that the fever may not be occasioned again.

Non-violence

We have to examine carefully to locate the causes of totalitarian wars of the type we have gone through in the last two occasions. Once we trace the cause we should have the courage of our convictions to face boldly the consequences of the treatment necessary to banish war from society, reorganize society and its mode of life on a basis that will not require periodical wars to set right its equilibrium. This means we have to build up our daily life on the basis of non-violence. A society based on such a foundation will eschew war for all time.

If we are honest to ourselves we shall find that these wars are caused by a lopsided development of our economic

and not with the disease. He does not realize that perhaps his daily life is causing that situation to arise and that it may be necessary for him to readjust his mode of living. He resembles the individual who preaches prevention of cruelty to animals but insists on having his bacon for his breakfast, not realizing that his eating of bacon will call for the slaughter of the pig. He himself is not willing to do the cruel killing but his course of action brings into exitence and sustains the butcher.

This is either due to want of clear thinking or due to being unprepared to face the logical consequences. In the former case it calls for further study and thought. The latter case is unworthy of a social being. If he is a willing member of a society and partakes of the common life that ultimately leads to wars, then his keeping out of participation in war is shirking his duty. If he disapproves of war he must take to a mode of life in which war has no place. If he wants to prevent cruelty to animals he must give up eating bacon.

Pacifism

With the pacifist, the question is not purely a personal affair. To him the problem assumes social or national dimensions. He wants peace among men. He seeks to attain it by controlling immediate contributory causes-by devising means of settling disputes and claims, by disarmament, by a federal world government etc. He rests his faith on curative methods.

He forgets that the parties to the dispute may be greater than the judge who will not be able to enforce his judgement; nay the disputants may constitute themselves as

III

THE C. O. s, PACIFISTS AND NON-VIOLENCE

Thinking people the world over are much agitated over the trend of events. They see threatening clouds gathering on the horizon. They are uncertain of the turn world affairs may take and quake before the thought of another world war. These forebodings are indicated by the many conventions and conferences held by these various groups. The Montreux Convention seeks to establish peace by a World Federal Government. The War Resister's International suggests other ways. The Concientious objectors would keep out of active participation in the fight, while others pin their faith to disarmament. All are agreed war is barbarous and must be banished from civilized society.

The Concientious Objectors

The Concientious Objectors represent the first awakening of the individual to the immorality of war. It is a personal affair. The C. O. sees that soldiering is murderous, personally he is not willing to take up arms against his fellowman. For this conviction he is willing to suffer whatever punishment society inflicts on such.

The C. O. does not carry his investigations any further. He deals with his immediate problem but does not follow up to ferret out the cause that leads to this situation. His is a short sighted view. He deals with the symptom

this problem at the source. It is only by remoulding our daily lives that we can bring peace and plenty to this war distraught world and banish violence from our midst. Gandhiji's last suggestion was of converting the Congress from a political to a constructive body-the Lok Sevak Sangh -was a step directed towards that end. Have we the will and courage to follow his lead?

the current form to nature in the reservoir form. Thus houses that are built of bricks and wood, can largely be said to belong to current economy, but when you come to concrete and steel you are coming into the reservoir economy. To what extent can we go on wastefully exhausting supplies as we have been doing and calling it a high standard of living—living with no security? Wherever there is an overemphasis on the reservoir economy, we should be on our guard as it will increase violence in society and culminate in wars.

It is no good saying this is an "oversimplification." Because by looking at these things you will ascertain the causes of war or root of violence. It should be our intention to live as far as possible on current products—to use the things we produce. We, in India, believe in using our own home-spun yarn. That is what Gandhiji wants us to do. Abolishing war has to begin at our breakfast table. Let us begin with ourselves and start with our daily lives and the accumulated violence that comes out in the form of war will take care of itself.

There is something more fundamental than taking away the pistol or disarming nations. Nations will disarm of their own accord provided they can be moved up into the mother-service economy. The national governments will then take their rightful places. They need not formulate Leagues of Nations or UNOs. The real thing is to isolate the factor that produces violence, which is our method of living today and our present type of economic organization. We shall have to shift from a right—centred economy to a duty-motivated economy, from self-centredness to love for our fellowmen. We must bring about self-conquest and banish untruth and violence from society. Until we do that there will be no peace in the world. We must attack

For instance a person dies and leaves to two sons Rs 10,000 each. One goes to Bombay and spends his capital in luxurious living. The other sets up a little grocery shop, say in a village and gets from it two or three hundred rupees income a year and lives on that income. One is living on his capital, the other on his income. What is the psychological effect of these two methods of living? The village man develops into a man who is provident: while the man who spends his capital, after it has gone, looks round to see who else has money from whom it can be obtained easily by gambling, forgery etc. or becomes a brigand to get money quickly. When you live on capital or live on a 'reservoir economy you develop different mentalities from the one that current economy develops. Imperialism has arisen out of our getting away from current economy into the reservoir economy.

One hundred years ago there were no global wars. Why? Then England was on a horse economy. The horse was the motive force. The horse belongs to a current economy. In India the cow is the motive force— the sacred animal of the country. What is called the industrial revolution in England was the ultimate result of the discovery of steam power. The horse economy gave way to the coal economy, a reservoir economy, which develops violence, and then came along another reservoir motive force, namely petrol. Petrol has got into short supply, so that the Middle West is being looked upon with covetous eyes. Therefore there are these global wars, which really began with the industrial revolution. America, with her tremendous supply of petrol which is now going down, is beginning to turn towards the East. Violence is increasing as you go on shifting your methods of production from nature in

do something. We must attack the tremendous enemy in our own land of poverty and starvation. There are a number of institutions that Gandhiji had formed together with an educational programme.

In a non-violent State we cannot have His Majesty's opposition. Yet the function of the opposition must be performed—no Government can work without it. The real function of the opposition is to direct the Government into certain channels. You require critics but they should be taken out of the field of violence. The opposition in England is a violent type of political order. I suggest that it should be like rock banks to a river. The banks of the river, so long as they are solid rock, direct the flow to the bed of the river, but the rock, being rock does not come and sit in the bed of the river and silt it up. In England it is so today. The opposition is always influenced by the thought that it may come into power one day.

So far we have dealt with the qualities in man and the qualities in human relationships. We should now consider nature.

We have got to go to nature to obtain raw materials for all our economic needs. There are two kinds of sources. One is a reservoir, such as minerals, iron, copper and all sorts of such things which in nature are in a reservoir form to some extent. Things like cotton, wool, wood, exist not in reservoir form, but as a current, like a river running all the time. These latter do not get exhausted as we go on using them, as they are in current form. Current economy is non-violent, the reservoir form is violent as it gets exhausted.

THE ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION
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